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3	M E E T T H E P R E S S Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak
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9	:This is a rush transcript :provided for the information :and convenience of the press.
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3	ANTONOMATE WESTERS IN DOCK
\$ (T)	SUNDAY, JULY 17, 1966
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î2	GUEST: Admiral William F. Raborn Former Director, C.I.A.
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i zi	Robert Goralski, NBC News Lawrence E. Spivak, Permanent Panel
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CPYRGHT	MCDERATOR: Neil Boggs
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78 	MR. BOGGS: This is Neil Boggs, inviting you to
19 . l	MEET THE PRESS.
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21	MR. BOGGS: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Admiral
22	William F. Raborn, recently retired Director of the Central
23	Intelligence Agency. Admiral Raborn is widely recognized as
24	the developer of the Polaris missile system. He succeeded

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John McCone as head of the CIA in April, 1965. Now we will have the first question from Lawrence E. Spivak, Permanent member of the MEET THE PRESS panel.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral Raborn, the Senate is engaged in a

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral Raborn, the Senate is engaged in a controversy over the question of adding members of the Foreign Relations Committee to the committee that now overseas the CIA. Would you say that it makes much difference to the CIA what Senate committees oversea it?

ADMIRAL RABORN: It has been the position of the agency, and it was my position too, Mr. Spivak, that the oversight activities of the Congress were distinctly the business of the Congress.

MR. SPIVAK: May I have your opinion. You are out of the CIA at the present time. What is your personal opinion, does it make any difference?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, I stated my opinion. My opinion is that this is a matter which the Congress itself would want to resolve and it is not a matter of conjecture by me.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you mean to tell me, 'Admiral, now that you are a private citizen, you have no opinion on a matter of that importance that might be of great help to the American people if you did give an opinion?

ADMIRAL RABORN: As a private citizen I would make my views known to the people who have to do with such matters, namely the Congress, and I think I must be appropriately

reticent about commenting on the responsibilities of responsible people.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral, it was reported that you refused to give members of the Foreign Relations Committee any information on sources and methods. Can you tell us why you refused?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Yes. I am directed by the Congress, the Congressional Act that set up the Agency, Public Law 80-253 of 1947. It specifically charged the Director of Central Intelligence with safeguarding methods and sources of intelligence and it has been the practice of all previous Administrations since then and under the current Administration, that we would report fully on these activities to the Oversight Committees set up to oversee the activities of the intelligence agencies and bodies of the United States government.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral, as you know there has been a good deal of criticism and even hostility in recent years against the CIA. Would you say that any of the criticism has been justified?

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a blameless life. I think there has only been one Person

I believe in the history of mankind who has lived a blameless

life, but by and large I would say that been largely based on inaccuracies and are not justified at all.

MR. SPIVAK: TWhat is your explanation for the rising tide

of criticism against the CIA in recent years?

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ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, I think that this is in the nature of the organization. It, of course, has to be secret and this fact that it has to be secret was recognized even by General Washington in an original letter that I have in which he stated that secrecy in intelligence matters was a primary essence of intelligence.

I think that the American people have not had the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence activities of the United States government properly explained to them and this is one reason why I gladly accepted your kind invitation to appear on this program because it is a wonderful organization, one that is extremely vital to the United States, the security of the United States, and one which they can not do without.

MR. SPIVAK: Now may I give you an opportunity to make an explanation on one matter of great importance: Senator Stephen Young of Ohio was recently reported as charging that the CIA has become an invisible government answerable only to itself. Now how would you answer that charge?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I would say that this is a complete fallacy.

MR. SPIVAK: What about his charge that the CIA was employing a small army in Vietnam?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I would say also this is a complete

fallacy.

MR. SPIVAK: You are not hiding behind CIA secrecy when you make these general refutations, are you, Admiral?

ADMIRAL RABORN: No, I am just answering them directly. Trying to.

MR. SPIVAK: The CIA has been charged also with stirring up insurrections and sometimes running little wars. Would you say that that too is a false charge?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I would say that the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, the clandestine activities, are relatively small by comparison to the major weight of their activities in other fields and that any activities of this sort is in conformance with the approval of the National Security Council and in furtherance of United States policy.

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MR. FRANKEL: Admiral, since so relatively small part of the Agency's work is, as you say, clandestine, since much of it is analytical, scientific, collecting well-known information, do you think that part of the trouble and misunderstanding of your critics is due to the fact that there is too much secrecy surrounding the Agency?

ADMIRAL RABORN: This could be so, but I rather doubt it. As a matter of fact, I doubt it sincerely. The nature of our work is that we of course make these reports, as you say, to the Administration authorities and to the Congress,

that we make it on a "need to know" basis, give it to the people who have a need for it.

Obviously it would be unwise to make this general knowledge because of the delicacy of the matters.

MR. FRANKEL: For instance, the total budget you operate under, the total number of employees that you have.

You have been in secret projects before, Polaris — the Pentagon has many secrets. Yet the overall activities, the extent of them are known. And I know that law forbids you now to talk about the budget and the number of employees, but is this really necessary, is so much mystery necessary?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Yes indeed it is. If we knew, for instance the exact -- I am not saying we don't -- the exact numbers that the KGB, we will say, employs, and their budget, it is quite possible for one intelligence service to determine the effectiveness of the other and their capabilities if you know these salient factors. You can work it out, piece it together, little by little. So this is a very tightly-held secret.

MR. FRANKEL: Let me ask you about another aspect of the secrecy: When we tried to determine from the Massachusetts

Institute of Technology and other universities who have done, I understand, very good work for the agency, they told us that you insist that they not tell us the size of the subsidy they get from the Agency, that often they can publish material,

but they can't identify government money behind it. Why does that have to be so?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, I think this is not necessarily restricted to the CIA. This is common practice in many classified projects from all departments of the government. It is just information that we don't want loosed to the hands of foreign intelligence services.

MR. FRANKEL: In connection with that there has been another controversy recently. The United States Information Agency, for instance, is forbidden by law to propagandize within our country. Yet some people have suggested that you have allowed your men to write in American magazines, that you have supported books that are published in the United States, magazines that circulate in the United States, without ever telling the reader that they are getting government material, that they are getting official points of view.

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Do you think that is right for the CIA when, say, the USIA is not allowed to do it?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, let's put it this way: The Agency is accused of many things and quite a bit of it is most inaccurate. Specifically, now, as to permitting the scholars who are a large part of the Central Intelligence Agency, they feel a need to publish objectively information on situations existent around the world. To the extent that they can be cleared from a security point of view, they add to Sanitized - Approved For Release: CIA-RDP75-00001R000100150002-9

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the general understanding of the public, and this goes back to your problem of secrecy, now, a general understanding of the public of the actual facts in a matter under scrutiny, and it is a public service. Whether or not a writer should be identified as a member of a government agency I think that is a matter for the Department concerned to make up their minds upon. It has been the past policies of the Central Intel-ligence Agency not to trade on a name but to let the work stand on its own merit, which is the way scholars like to have their work considered.

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MR. FRANKEL: Don't you think it is important that we the readers know that when a scholar comes with material that this is really material that has been cleared as officially acceptable at least by an agency of government? ADMIRAL RABORN: "Acceptable" connotes something that I can't buy. Let's say that they represent facts or objective. If they are objective and factual that is the thing that should be brought out. The Central Intelligence Agency does not write articles in support of administration policies or anything of that kind, so I don't like to get that connotation in there.

I think it is an open question whether or not scholars in the future should identify themselves. As a matter of fact, I rather perhaps think they should. I like to think that the Central Intelligence Agency can be more widely accepted as a good, worthwhile member, church-going member of the family of departments that make up our fine government.

MR. STEELE: Admiral Raborn, you told Mr. Spivak a minute or two ago that a lot of the criticism of CIA stemmed from inaccuracies. I want to ask you if perhaps there isn't a different kind of criticism that is stimulated, one perhaps stemming from our enemies on the other side of the so-called Iron Curtain. Are you conscious of any attempt to undermine the CIA, to question its validity from not-sympathetic sources?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Yes, indeed, Mr. Steele.

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The Communist intelligence services are working night and day, twenty-four hours every day around the world, to undermine the effectiveness of the Central Intelligence Agency and of democratic processes and institutions around the world.

We know that, for instance, there is a "Department-D" known as the "Department of Disinformation." And the KGE,

The General Yagayansi, I believe, is the head of it -- this Wandvich AGAMANTS is no secret -- who spends their time in trying to undercut truly democratic institutions and agencies.

MR. STEELE: What does this Department D do about the CIA? What activities are you aware of?

ADMIRAL RABORN: They float stories around the world and then the Communist press picks it up immediately and puts it on the air and prints it in the newspapers. Generally these stories are completely false and they have just enough truth in them to be twisted all out of shape.

MR. STEELE: Has this activity of this Soviet department made things more difficult or is it really more of a joking makter around the world?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I don't mean to just single out the KGB.

All foreign intelligence services that are opposed to the democratic way of life and the true democracy such as the United States represents, engage in these activities and it is part and parcel of their work and they, of course, are out to discredit anything that tends to thwart their nefar-

ious activities.

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MR. STEELE: Well, it has been said quite often by outsiders that the CIA really is locked in a deadly battle with this Department-D and the KGB. Do you feel that is going too far or is the competition such that it really does amount to a serious battle?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I think that the Central Intelligence Agency is but a small part of the national effort to perpetuate truly democratic ideals and freedoms around the world. We do have a significant part to play but I think we shouldn't overdo it.

MR. GORALSKI: Admiral, aren't you unwittingly helping the KGB by not denying some of the stories that they are circulating? Every time we call the CIA, we, as newsmen, we always get nothing but a "No comment."

ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, sir, this is the policy, which is long established and it has generally been recognized over the years that you deny no stories, good or bad, you accept no praise and you try to ignore criticisms. Because they are largely uninformed, in both cases, and you never know when to stop once you get into the practice.

There are those in the United States government that from time to time -- such as the Secretary of State, such as the Congressional oversight committees, knowing the facts, get up and do, for the record, straighten things out. UnfortunateLy Sanitized Approved for Refease: "CIA-RDP75-00001R000100150002-9ia around

the world as some of the accusations do.

MR. GORALSKI: In the light of this criticism of the CIA of late, are you having trouble recruiting Americans to work for the Agency?

ADMIRAL RABORN: No. Let me say this. This is one of the real wholesome things that I can say. The fine, patriotic, really outstanding men and women who apply for lifetime employment with the Agency every year. The people of the Agency come from more than 600 universities. Seventy-seven percent of them have college degrees and about 20 percent have a Masters or a Doctorate.

MR. GORALSKI: I wonder if I could ask you a question on Vietnam. One of our concerns is that we don't really have enough information on what Hanoi is thinking or for that matter Peking as well. Do you feel we know enough about their own attitudes right now or could we get a better insight?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I would say, Mr. Goralski, no intelligence service is ever satisfied with the amount of information that they have and in a closed society where the efforts of a nation are closely controlled in the hands of ten to 12 hardlined, close-mouthed men, it is quite difficult to get into the minds of those men. You have to read their actions in order to get their line.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral, one of the grave concerns in this country is that Communist China might enter the war in

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Vietnam if the U.S. furthers its escalation. Can you give us an opinion on that, your own opinion?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I guess this would be a very difficult thing to do because the spectrum of things that could trigger off such an action is very wide and I perhaps should not try to conjecture on it. I do have my own personal views, but these are matters which I think are best left to the policy makers.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral, in a speech you made when you were head of the CIA, you said this, and I quote: "I can assure you that we deserve the confidence and support of the public."

Now can you tell us just why?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, I certainly can. Going back to President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Johnson, all have expressed their thoughts on the Central Intelligence Agency as an extremely essential part of the United States government. Now having been at the head of the Central Intelligency Agency and as Director of Central Intelligence, which includes responsibility for the coordination of the rest of the intelligence activities of the United States government, I can say proudly -- and I am not a Johnny-Come-Lately around Washington -- that the Agency deserves the unbounded admiration, the respect and support of the United States citizens everywhere and of the Free World everywhere. I have greatest admiration for

them. The breadth and depth of competence, the integrity, the loyalty, the willingness to serve the government under adverse conditions sometimes and under criticism is something that I thought perhaps was the sole property of the military.

MR. SPIVAK: Well, Admiral, we did pretty well in this country without a CIA, which was set up in 1947. What do you think would happen if the CIA were abolished?

ADMIRAL RABORN: May I suggest, sir, that your statement is not correct. Before Pearl Harbor there was no CIA. We had a Pearl Harbor. And I think if there is a motto of CIA, it is "There will never be another Pearl Harbor," and Pearl Harbor caused this country to go to a Central Intelligence Agency type of intelligence work.

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MR. SPIVAK: You think with a half hour warning time that we have the CIA is sufficiently informed on countries that have missiles so that there can not be a surprise attack against this country again?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I would say you are far better off with it than without it.

MR. FRANKEL: I would like to touch on the clandestine part of your activity -- I think I am not going to get very far if I ask you to discuss it in detail, but CIA activities in this area over the years have raised some questions almost of a philosophical nature and I think from what little I know about the Agency it isn't always necessarily the Agency that Sanitized - Approved For Release: CIA-RDP75-00001R000100150002-9

has to answer, it is the President of the United States himself who does. But being a part of that machinery, what are your thoughts on just how far we Americans really ought to go in this world in terms of meddling in other people's business? In terms of throwing money into elections, into helping the people we like and resisting the people we don't like, some of which at least crudely stated might resemble some of the activities of our Communist opponents. But we of course think we are doing it for better purposes. But how far do you think we ought to go?

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ADMIRAL RABORN: Mr. Frankel, I think it is the thrust of the entire United States government, through its diplomacy and through its U. S. aid programs and the security apparatuses to safeguard first the security of the United States and assist in the safeguarding of the Free World, and to promote our way of life, vis-a-vis the active for the Communist movement to undermine the free institutions. I think we should go far enough to win, and this includes military action, and unfortunately sometimes it comes. You have to say, do we let them rule the world or are we going to stand up for what we know is a better way of life?

MR. FRANKEL: It is usually that question: Is a Communist going to profit from this fellow winning an election or this government coming to power or this government falling? That shoul be the decisive point?

ADMIRAL RABORN: I wouldn't like to get too specific, but
I think the main thrust of the philosophy of the United
States government is what I was trying to speak to and
the CIA is just a part of that.

MR. STEELE: Admiral, is has been said that a very small percentage of your activity and energy is devoted to so-called clandestine or covert activity, is that correct?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Only a very small fraction of the entire effort of the Central Intelligence Agency has to do with clandestine activities, Mr. Steele.

MR. STEELE: Admiral, many people don't understand what a national intelligence estimate is. Can you tell us in a very few words what it is and how it is made?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Yes, sir, I will try. The national intelligence estimate is the general views of the entire intelligence apparatus of the United States which includes of course the Central Intelligence Agency, the Intelligence Department of the Department of State, the National Security Agency, the FBI, and the Atomic Energy Commission. They are formulated in weekly meetings in which these are put out in formal pamphlets and signed by the Director of Central Intelligence. Exceptions from what is printed in there are also freely entered so that the reader can have the benefit of both points of view on a particular point.

MR. STEELE: Is it for the President of the United States?

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ADMIRAL RABORN: It is for the President and for the members of the Administration who have need for them.

MR. STEELE: And as such that is used in the making of foreign policy?

ADMIRAL RABORN: As such they are part of the information that goes into whatever actions are taken.

MR. GORALSKI: Can you tell us if any changes were implemented at CIA as a result of the Special Committee that was appointed by President Kennedy?

ADMIRAL RABORN: Yes, I think so. It has been an extremely efficient and effective Committee, Mr. Goralski. In my view it has been most helpful. They give us an objective point of view from really a distinguished panel.

MR. GORALSKI: But there were obvious changes that did take place within the organization as a result?

ADMIRAL RABORN: And continually so. We are trying to improve always.

MR. GORALSKI: YOu couldn't tell us what some of those areas are?

ADMIRAL RABORN: No, not without getting into security matters.

MR. SPIVAK: Admiral, it was reported that you refused to tell the Foreign Relations Committee whether the CIA ever used the Fulbright Scholarship Program as a cover for your agents. Why did you hesitate to say you didn't, if you didn't?

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ADMIRAL RABORN: Well, this came at the end of a series of questions which had to do with sources and methods which, of course, were quite private, and I did answer it, although I understand it didn't get into the -- this is one exception I made because of the distinguished Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman Fulbright. I did answer it, but there were four of five other people talking at the same time and I understand it didn't get into the record. I said categorically No.

MR. BOGGS: Thank you, Admiral Raborn, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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